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SOME CRITICAL AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

TO HIS

Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions.

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INTRODUCTION.

Constant reference should be made to the Median and Assyrian translations. For this end the author recommends the following: (1.) **Die Achaemeniden-inschriften.** Transsscription des babylonischen Textes nebst Uebersetzung, textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Wörter-und Eigennamenverzeichniss von **Carl Bezold.** Mit dem Keilschrifttexte der kleineren Achämeniden-Inchriften autographirt von **Paul Haupt**, Leipzig, 1882. 24 M. (2.) **Die Achaemenideninschriften Zweiter Art.** Entzifferung des Syllabars mit Schrifttafel, Abriss der Grammatik, Texte in lateinischer Umschrift mit gegenüberstehender deutscher Uebersetzung, Commentar und textkritische Anmerkungen, Wörterbuch, Keilschrifftexte in Autographie von **F. H. Weissbach**, Leipzig, 1890. 30 M. For the best critical edition of the original Old Persian text, the following: **Die Altpersischen Keil-inschriften** herausgegeben von **F. H. Weissbach** und **W. Bang**, Leipzig, 1893-4. Frequent reference has been made to this edition in these notes under the abbreviation **W. & B.**

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I.

THE INSCRIPTION OF CYRUS, p. 53.

Cf. statement p. 117. W. & B. remark, "ob die Inschrift dem grossen *Kyros* oder dem *Bruder des Artarxerxes Mne-mnon* zuzusprechen sei ist noch nicht völlig klar," giving the title "Kyros der Jüngere." Kossowicz, "Breviusculam hanc inscriptionem Cyri sepulchralis monumenti nonnulli doctorum virorum putant esse." Spiegel, "Ich sehe daher keinen Grund dem alten Cyrus dieses Denkmal abzusprechen." Sayce, Herodotos, p. 75, "The tomb of Cyrus at Murghab cannot belong to the founder of the Persian empire on account of its architectural ornamentation, and probably belongs to the brother of Xerxes, the satrap of Egypt, who is called Akhaemenes by Ktesias."

II.

THE INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTION.

2. *Caishpaish*, So Spiegel. W. & B., *Cishpaish*.
3. *Amata*, Cf. note p. 118. W. & B., "erprobt."
4. *Duvitatarnam*. W. & B., "in zwei Reihen." Spiegel, "gesondert." Oppert, "en deux branches."
5. *Agata*, Doubtful word; it has long been considered a false reading. Cf. note p. 119. W. & B., *Daushta*. See vocabulary. Spiegel, *Agata*, with remark "falsche Lesung."
5. *Arika*. W. & B., *Arika*. Spiegel, *Araika*, adding, "man kann indessen auch *Arika* lesen."

8. Athahy. See p. 29 § 45, n. 4; p. 30, § 50, n. W. & B., Athahya. So Spiegel.

11. Mahya XIV raucabish thakata aha yadiy. W. & B., "am 14 tage war es, als.

11. (H)uvamarshiyush. See Translation. So W. & B., "durch Selbstmord."

12. Ayasta uvaipashiyam akuta. See Translation. So W. & B., "handelte nach seinem eigenen Willen."

13. Patiyavahaiy. Oppert considered this a demoninative from noun avah. Speigel following Kern gives a root vah "preisen."

13. Kamanaibish. The Assyrian and Median translations render "few." See vocabulary. W. & B., Kamnaibish, "mit wenigen Männern." Spiegel, "Dass nicht Kamana sondern Kamna zu lesen sei sowie dass das Wort wenig, spärlich bedeute wie auch np. kam, ist jetzt durch die Uebersetzungen sicher gestellt," Bertin, Cuneiform Grammar, 1888, p. 116, kamanaibish "with faithful men." So Kossowicz and Rawlinson.

14. Gathva, Cf. note p. 57. W. & B., Gathva.

14. Ayadana — v(i) thibishca. See Translation p. 121. W. & B., "Die Tempel, welche Gaumata, der Mager zerstört hatte, stellte ich wieder her, für das Volk die Hilfsmittel, die Herden und das Wohnen in den Häusern. (?)

16. Upadara(n)mahya. So Spiegel. W. & B., Upadarmahya.

16. Naditabira. So Spiegel. W. & B., Nadi(n)tabira.

16. Anai-hya. W. & B., Aina(irā)hya.

16. Nabunitahya. So Spiegel. W. & B., Nabunai-tahya.

18. *Makauva*. So Spiegel. W. & B., *Ma(dya)kauva* “(teilte ich mein Heer) in 2 Teile(?)”

18. *Dashabarim*. So Kern and Spiegel. W. & B., *Ushabarim* “auf Kamele.” So Oppert. Kern remarks, *Dashabari* ist deutlich genug *die rechte Hand emporhebend*,” translating, “ich zwang den Feind zur Uebergabe” (1869). Oppert, “Alteram camelis gestam feci, alteri equos suppeditavi” (1859). Spiegel, “Ich machte einen Theil von dasha-getragen” (1881).

18. *Ashm* ----- *anayam*, W. & B., *As(pa patiy)anayam* “führte ich Rosse zu.”

19. *Apiya* ---- *h* ---- *a*. W. & B., *Apiya (a)ha(n)-* (*jat*)*a* “ward nis Wasser getrieben.”

19. (*H*)*ufratauva*. The first member of the compound is (*H*)*u* “well”; the second member may be connected with *rt. fra*, cf. Herod. I. 194; or with the Avestan *peretu* “bridge”: the “well bridged” stream.

19. *Athiy Babirum yatha* --- *ayam*. W. & B., *A(b)iy Babirum ya*(*tha naiy up)ayam*.

II.

1. *Asbaribish* or *asəbaribish*. See vocabulary. W. & B., *Asəbaribish*. So Spiegel, who observes that the euphonic combination would be *zb*, not *sb*.

3. *Cicikhraish*. W. & B., *Ci(n)cikhraish*.

4. *Hacama* --. W. & B., *Hacama* (*atarsa*).

4. *Ashnaiy aham abiy* (*H*)*uvajam*. See translation. W. & B., “(Damals) war ich Susiana befreundet.”

5. (*H*)*uvakhshatarahya*. So Spiegel. W. & B., *Uvakhshtrahya*.

5. *Hya v(i)thapatiy*. See translation. W. & B., “Welches im Palaste war.”

6. Ma - - - - . W. & B., Ma(rush).
6. Hauv — kamanamciy naiy adaraya. W. & B.,
Hauv — naiy adaraya “dieser hielt nicht (Stand).
6. VI. Raucabish. Spiegel, VI(?) Raucabish. W. & B., XXVII Raucabish.
7. - - - - nama. So W. & B.
7. Hamitriyam - - aja. W. & B., Hamitriyam aja.
7. VI. Raucabish. Spiegel VI(?): Raucabish. W. & B., VIII. Raucabish.
8. Ha(n)gmata. W. & B. Hagamatā, but ha(n)gmata
§ 45 and para(n)gmata Nr. a.
9. U - - - -ama nama. W. & B., U(hy)ama.
9. - a - - - yata. So W. & B.
10. - I - - - nama. W. & B., (Iz)i(tush) nama.
11. Iyamanam patiy. W. & B., “am Ende.” Spiegel,
“Am letzten.”
12. Kud(u)rush. W. & B., Ku(n)d(u)rush.
13. Amutha. W. & B., “von dort.”
13. Izavam. W. & B., (Hizuva)m.
13. Utashaiy - - ma avajam. W. & B., Utashai(y cakh-
shma av)ajam “stach ihm die augen aus.”
13. Duvarayamaiy, for Duvarai + a. Cf. Dastaya,
úzamayapatiy. See note p. 58, also p. 12, § 4.
16. This section refers to an engagement of Hystaspes in Parthia, as the translations show. With the army which remained loyal and by the grace of Auranazda Hystaspes defeats the rebels. The phraseology if supplied, would resemble the oft repeated formula describing victorious encounters, e. g. II. 6.

III.

3. Margayabish. W. & B., Margyabish.

5. Haca yadaya fratarta, "departed from duty." See translation. W. & B., liess die Ehrfurcht (?).

7. Hyaparam, "again." W. & B., "ein anderes Mal."

8. Uvadaidaya. W. & B., Uvadaicaya, following the Median.

13. Han(?)ditahya. See note p. 130. W. & B., Hal-ditahya. So Spiegel.

13. Duban(?)a. See note p. 130. W. & B., Dubaln.

14. -----apatiy asariyata. Doubtful word. Spiegel, zerbrechen" (?) adding "wol falsche Lesart." W. & B., (uzmay)apatiy akariya(n)tam "gepföhlt werden." But cf. note 3 § 45, p. 29.

14. We know from the translations that the concluding portion of the column gives an account of the execution of Arakha and his allies. The phraseology would be somewhat similar to that describing the executions in II. §§ 13, 14.

IV.

2. Hamahyaya tharda, "wholly in (my) way." See note p. 132. W. & B., "allerwegen."

4. Yatha mam kama, "as desire (moved) me." See translation. W. & B., "wie es mein Wunsch (war)."

4. Di ---. W. & B., Di(sh) akunavam).

6. Varnavatam thuvam matya durujiyahy, "let it convince thee—do not deceive thyself—" W. & B., "erscheine dir glaubwürdig, strafe es nicht Lügen."

7. Auramazda taiyiya. W. & B., Auramaz(diya) taiyiya "als Auramazda-verehrer (schwöre ich?)"

8. ----- amaiy. W. & B., (api)maiay.

8. Tha ----. W. & B., *Thada* (*yatiy*).
 8. *Naishim varnavatiy*, "it may not convince him." See translation. W. & B., *Naishim varnavataiy* "(und es) nicht glaube."

9. -- a *aha(n)*. W. & B., (*yat*)a *aha* "solange sie waren."

9. *Duvartam*. Doubtful reading. See vocabulary. W. & B., *Tharda kartam*. Spiegel, *Duvartam*, but remarks on "falsche Lesart."

10. --- *Nuram*. So W. & B.

10. *Thuvam varnavatam*, "let it convince thee." W. & B., erscheine es dir demgemäss gelaubhaft."

10. *Avatha* --- *avahyāradiy*. W. & B., *Avatha* (*avah*)-*yāradiy*.

12. *Tyaiy ha(n)tiy*, "which are." W. & B., "welche es gibt."

13. ----- *imaiy tauma upariy abashtam upariy mam naiy shakaurim* ---. W. & B., (*naiy adam na*)*imaiy tauma upariy abishtam* (?) *upariy ayam naiy shakaurim naiy* --- "weder ich, noch mein Geschlecht. Nach dem Gesetze herrschte ich weder --- noch ---".

13. *Hya hamatakhshata mana vithiya*. See translation. So W. & B., "welcher meinem Hause beistand."

13. *Hya iyani* --. W. & B., *Hya* (*v*)*iyān(asaya)*, "wer schadete."

14. *Hyava* -- *tar* --. W. & B., *Hyava*, (*a*)*tar(ta)*, "oder ein Abtrünniger."

15. *Visanahy*. Doubtful reading. See vocabulary. W. & B., *Vikanahy*.

15. *Ava* (?) *avātha*. W. & B., *Ava* *avaiy*.

16. *M* --- *m jādanautuv*. W. & B., *Ma(zana)m* (?) *ku-nautuv* "mache Auramazda gross." following Oppert's suggestion.

19. *Tartiyana* --. W. & B., *Martiya* a ---.

V.

4. *Ajanam aniyam agarbayam*, W. & B., (*aniyam* av) *ajanam aniyam agarbayam*, “den Einen tötete ich, den Andern ergriff ich.”

INSCRIPTION OF ALVEND, p. 74.

Shiyatim. See note p. 140. W. & B., “Segensfülle.”
Martiyahya. The translations show that this may be the dative genitive, p. 39, § 83, “for man.”

INSCRIPTIONS OF SUEZ, p. 75.

b.

Tya ----. W. & B., *Tya (uvaspam u)mar(ti)yam*
Hada Parsa. W. & B., (*Hac*)a Parsa.
Danauvatiy. W. & B., Danuvatiy.
Ava(da) yatha adam. W. & B., *Pasava adam*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PERSEPOLIS, p. 77.

H.

Aniyana naiy tarsatiy. See translation. So W. & B., “zittert es vor keinem Feinde.” But see note, p. 144.
Ajamiya ma etc. See translation. So W. & B., “Gegen deises Land ziehe nicht eine (böse) Schar, nicht Misswachs, nicht Lüge.”

Vithibish bagaibish. Cf. Bh. iv. 13. *Aniya bagaha ha(n)tiy*. W. & B., “samt den Stammesgöttern.”

I.

Hya duvaishtam shiyatish, etc. See translation and note. Cf. W. & B., "So wird für lange Zeit ungestört eine Segensfülle durch Aura über diesen Stamm herabkommen." Spiegel considered Aura as Voc. "O Herr:" W. & B. as Instr. "durch Aura."

INSCRIPTIONS OF NAQSHI RUSTAM, p. 79.

a.

Apataram hacā Parsa. See translation. So W. & B., "ausser Persien." Cf. also note p. 146.

Takabara. See translation. Cf. W. & B., "welche geflochtenes Haar tragen." Spiegel, "welche Kronen tragen."

Ciya(n)raram, "manifold." So W. & B., "vielfach," and Spiegel.

Khshnasahadish. So Spiegel. W. & B., Khshnasa-h(i)dish.

Adatay azda bavatiy, "then to thee will be the knowledge." So W. & B., "Da wirst du erfahren."

Martiya hya—starava. See translation and supplementary note. W. & B., "O mensch! Die Gebote Auramazdas halte nicht für widerwärtig. Den geraden Weg verlass nicht! Sei nicht ungerecht!" Thadaya is generally connected with Avestan Sad "seem," but cf. Thumb's note p. 147.

Gasta. Spiegel, "widerwärtig" Hübschmann "übel," but cf. Thumb's note p. 147.

Starava, W. & B. Stakava. Spiegel, Starava. See note p. 149.

c.

Sharastibara. W. & B., *Arshtibara*, “Lanzenträger.”
See vocabulary.

d.

Aspacana, ins., *Vatrabara*. (W. & B., “Genosse(?)”).
Dasyama. W. & B., *Daraya(n)ta* (?), “Pfeilbewah-
rer.” Spiegel, *Dasyama*, “Zügelhalter(?)”.

e.

Maciya, plural.

INSCRIPTIONS OF XERXES, p. 81.

Persepolis.

D.

Duvarthim visadahyum. See translation. Cf. W. & B., “*Thorweg Visadahyu.*”

Ana Parsa. See p. 37, § 73. So W. & B., “in diesem Persien, but Cf. note on preposition *Ana*, p. 150.

E a.

Ima hadish. See translation. So W. & B., “diesen Palast.”

A.

Apataram. See translation. W. & B., "ausserdem," but in Nr. a they render it "ausser (Persien)."

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES I. p. 87.

Spiegel attributes this inscription to Artaxerxes I, remarking "Dieser umstand ist es wol gewesen, welcher Oppert beuog, vom Anfang an diese Inschrift dem ältern Artaxerxes zuzutheilen, weil der jüngste, dem sie Rawlinson zugeschrieben hat, seine Inschriften, wie es scheint, nicht mehr in drei Sprachen abfassen liess. Keinenfalls kann die Vase dem Artaxerxes II angehören da dieser Aegypten nicht besessen hat."

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

Title. Spiegel in his first edition referred this inscription to Darius II. In second edition he says "Früher hatte ich diese Inschrift sowie die beiden folgenden Darius II zuschreiben wollen wozu mich das Vorkommen des Ideogrammes veranlasste, das sich sonst in den Inschriften des Darius nicht findet. Es kommt dasselbe jedoch in den Inschriften des Xerxes* wiederholt vor, es liegt darum kein genügender Grund vor, diese Inschriften dem erstem Darius abzusprechen." Kossowicz refers it to Darius II, saying "Quum, quae in ea sunt difficilia, ut e grammaticis saltem legibus, explicentur, semper etiam degenerantis linguae, qualis est posteriorum temporum inscriptionum, aliquam speciem prae se ferre videntur." W. & B. refer it to Darius I.

* See introduction, page 10.

Translation; Westergaard, "alta (haec) arx (est) Darii regis gentis palatum." Lassen, "altis substructionibus (exstructa) arx gentis Darii hominum tutoris." Rawlinson, "Done by Ardasta, the builder, the relative of king Darius;" later, "a worthily placed buiding made for the family of Darius the king. Oppert, Chambranle de pierre (?) fait dans le palais du roi Darius." Norris, "Marble hall built for the family of Darius the king. Kossowicz, "Culmen palatii a Darii regis cognato exstructum." Spiegel, "Hochbau von Stein durch einen Clangenossen des König Darius ausgeführt." W. & B., "Fenstersims im Hause des Königs Darius gemacht," following the Assyrian translation, see p. 157.

Vithiya, vithi + postpositive a ? Cf. note p. 58. Spiegel, das Wort müsste, wie vithiya, im Instr. stehen."

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON, p. 89.

Imam apadana. See translation. W. & B., "Dieses apadana (baute mein Ahn Darius)."

Anahata. W. & B., *Anah(i)ta*, following the Avestan *Anahita*.

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES OCHUS, p. 91.

Imam usatashanam atha(n)gamam. See translation, W. & B., "Deses steinerne (?) Bauwerk."

Usatashanam. So Spiegel. W. & B., *Ustashanam*. Cf. p. 13, § 12.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS.

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

Suez, (Sz).

Darayava(h)ush.

Susa.

a.

----- na ----- Vish)aspahya putra Ha(khamani-shiya Tha)tiy Darayava(h)ush khshayathiya ----- ava akunavam tya ----- nya frashta thadayamiy.

Frashta thadayamiy, W. & B., "ich für das vorgünstigste halte." For various theories respecting the meaning of Thadayamiy see supplementary notes to Nr. a, also notes pp. 148-9.

b.

This inscription reads about as B, p. 78, omitting the clause *hya*—*akunaush*.

Kerman.

This inscription repeats B p. 78, omitting *hya*—*akunaush* and after *Dahyunam* inserting *Khshayathiya* *ahyaya* *bumiya*.

Weight--inscription.

Adam Darayava(h)ush khshayathiya vazraka Vish-taspahya putra Hakhamanishiya.

INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

Susa.

--- (Hakh)amanishi(ya Thatiy Artakhshatra) khshayathiya va(zraka khshayathiya kh)shayathiyanam khshaya(thiya dahyun)am khshayathiya ahyaya (bumiya i)-mam hadish uta imam --- canam tya atha(n)gainam t --- u.

Atha(n)gainam. See vocabulary. W. & B., "Fenster."

Hamadan.

This inscription repeats Sb., p. 89, up to Hakhamanishiya; from that point it reads, Imam Apadana vashna --- mam Auramazda Anahata [*vide supra*] uta M(i)tra (*sic.*) mam patuv --- uta imam tya akuna ma ---.

Vashna --- mam. W. & B., Vashn(a Auramazdaha Anahatahya uta M(i)trahya akuna m)am.

Mam patuv --- uta. W. & B., Ma(m patuv hacagasta [see note to Nr. a] ut)a.

Akuna. W. & B., "ich gebaut (?)."

SEAL INSCRIPTIONS.

a.

Hadakhya (?) --- thadatha --. W. & B., "Hadakhya (?) ---."

Vashda Saka. W. & B., "Vashda der Skythe (?)"

c.

Vahyav(i)shda paya(?) W. & B., "Vahyavishda --(?)"

d.

M Kharshadashya. W. & B., "ich (bin) Kharshadasya."

THE SITE OF PASARGADAE.

It has long been a disputed question whether Pasargadae is to be identified with Murghab where stands the monument containing the name of Cyrus, described on page 117. (Cf. Notes to *Inscription of Cyrus*, p. 189). We give a few quotations showing the diversity of opinions which have been held by Cuneiform scholars. Grotfend always believed and tried to prove that Murghab and Pasargadae are identical. Lassen tried to disprove any identity. Ménant (*les Achéménides et les inscriptions de la Persiens*, p. 17) was convinced beyond a doubt that Pasargadae was on the plain of Murghab. The ancient writers, Ptolemy, Strabo, etc., show no identity between the two places. Ptolemy puts Pasargadae to the southeast of Persepolis. Strabo says it was situated on the banks of the Cyrus. Sayce, Herodotes, p. 75: "(Pasargadae stood on the Kyros, in the south-east of Persia, and consequently cannot be identified with Murghab which is on the ancient Araxes.)" Spiegel: "Soviel aber muss gesagt werden, dass die Gründe Lassens noch nicht widerlegt sind, obgleich man die Ansicht, dass Murghab das alte Pasargadae sei, als die herrschende bezeichnen kann." Weissbach: "Wir besitzen eine kurze Inschrift von Kyros, die von Murghab. Auf dieser ist der Name des Vaters nicht angegeben, sodass es zweifelhaft bleibt, ob sie dem älteren Kyros, dem Sohne des Kambyses, oder dem Sohne des

Darius Nothus zugehörte. - - - - Der ältere Kyros sonst nur noch babylonische Inschriften hinterlassen. - - - In der neususischen Inschrift BhL scheint Darius, falls die Erklärung der nicht ganz verständlichen Stelle richtig ist, zu sagen, dass er zuerst Inschriften in arischer Sprache geschrieben habe.”*

INITIAL AND MEDIAL H.

It will be observed that the author has consistently retained initial and medial H in such words as (H)u, *Darayava(h)ush*, etc. It is more than probable that in *Auramazda* the influence of the omitted H was felt and the spelling *A(h)uramazda* is suggested in the vocabulary. It is hardly to be supposed that contraction took place in the old Iranian dialects when a consonant fell out. Hence we can easily see the relation of the nominative *Darayava(h)ush* to the genitive *Darayavahaush*. Even in such a word as *Thatiy* for *Thahatiy* the reading may be *Thaatiy* or better *Tha(h)atiy*. In this case we see the same relation between *Tha(h)atiy* and the third singular imperfect *Athaha* as between *Darayava(h)ush* and *Darayavahaush*. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der idg. Sprachen* under the treatment of S in the Aryan languages. Also for explanation of *Mahya* see Bartholomae, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge IX*. So in the imperfect of *Sta* we must believe that *Aishtata* was pronounced *A(h)ishtata*. In this

* Cf. also *Die Achämenideninschriften, Zweiter Art*, von F. H. Weissbach.

same verb the shortening of the vowel of the stem is after the analogy of the A-class, as we should expect from the treatment of the same root in Avestan and in all periods of the Sanskrit language.

THE LIGATURE TR.

The ligature Tr (see Cuneiform alphabet p. 95) which represents the primitive Aryan Tr and primitive Iranian Thr has a spirantal value. The exact pronunciation is not known, but was distinguished from the Avestan Thr, (cf. *Khshathrita*). A similar change of Th to the spirant occurs in the Iranian combination Thy, *e. g.* Old Persian *Hashiya*, Avestan, *Haithya*, Sanskrit, *Satya*.



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